

COMMUNICATIONS.

The Relation of Colored Schools to State Educational Systems.—No. 2.

BY JOHN OGDEN.

Most of the Southern States, in their reconstructed capacity, have recognized colored schools, or have made some provision for the education of the colored people; and all seem to manifest a willingness to grant the privileges of education to them, on some terms.

This is well, as far as it goes. It is noble, because it savors of simple justice. It is a step in the right direction; and as such we hail it as the harbinger of good. It is a "peace-maker" for our distracted country; for it is evident to any thinking man, that there can be no peace, in a republic like ours, while the laws and usages of society recognize distinctions among the people in their political, social, and educational capacity, on account of race, condition, or color.

We regard this first step, therefore, as a kind of "John the Baptist," going before pointing out the way, and preparing the hearts and minds of men for the full recognition of those rights and privileges which now are the inalienable inheritance of every man, woman and child of the Republic.

This is glorious; but it is only the light in the wilderness through which the people are passing. It gleams up and out through the dark cloud, presaging the dawn of still better days. For a season, therefore, we may consent to rejoice in this light. But shall we stop here? Shall we linger about this mere torch, when the great sun is about to rise? I trust not. This is only the morning star, whose light we hail. The full blaze of sunlight is just behind this. Let us not, therefore, be content with mere twilight, however far this may be in advance of the dark night of slavery we have just passed.

Much remains to be done—wisely done—in order to secure the blessings thus proffered. We have, as it were, stormed and taken a strong-hold of the enemy. We have beaten down the outer wall of political distinction. To-day the Goddess of Liberty bends a benignant smile upon a nation that has smitten an outer band from off the limbs of a long oppressed people. To-day she ascends from one end of our land to the other. "The fifteenth amendment is a part of the fundamental laws of the nation!" "All men are equal before the law." Amen to this, we say! But what next? We have beaten down the wall of political distinction. But this is only an earth-work. We have planted our standard in full view of the enemy, but he still holds on in the inner citadel of social prejudice. He has made a last, a final stand. Here he has entrenched himself, and is determined to resist us, not with sword and bayonet, as heretofore, but with what is still more potent—with guile, with appeals to popular ignorance and prejudice, arousing the spirit of persecution and the worst passions of the people.

Now, these things can be met and overcome only by the higher exercise of reason and religion; in other words, by education. The great battle with ignorance and prejudice, and all their concomitant evils, is yet to be fought; or, we might say, is now being fought. The war is still raging in the region of ideas; and the realm of truth resounds with the clash of arms. The conquests to be won here are transcendentally greater in their results than any yet won upon the battle-field of mere physical strife.

We think, we do not over-estimate the work, when we say the greater part of it lies yet before us. Some of the physical and political hindrances, to be sure, have been removed. But who is so blind as not to see that the minds, hearts, and habits of the enemies of freedom and education are yet unchanged? Do not recent developments in the legislation of some of the States show this? When were there greater animosity and bitterness ever exhibited, either in political or social relations? It is the work of a lifetime to change the belief and habits of a people. It must be wrought by the slow process of education and growth. Let the public mind be enlarged and liberalized by education, and you give a death-blow to party prejudice and pride. All other issues sink before this. Legislation alone can never effect it. The minds and hearts of the people must be changed before a reform can be calculated upon.

We say, therefore, the work is before us; and we are not of those who would capitulate, or even compromise, until the work is done. Truth gains nothing in the end by yielding even temporarily to error. Better even stir up strife than settle down in a dangerous and wicked peace. Then, we would ask what is to be gained by yielding a tacit assent to what we all know to be wrong in principle and wrong in practice? We refer now to the policy adopted in most, if not all, the States, where schools have been provided for colored people, of compelling separate schools for the two races. This is allowing error in principle to go to seed in practice. It is allowing it to grow and to take root under the protecting agency of the law.

It is claimed by some, however, to be a matter of policy, for the present only; and that when this needless prejudice ceases, a more liberal course can be adopted. But cannot any one see that this will have a direct tendency to continue and to widen the chasm already existing between the two races? Is it not pandering to a wicked prejudice, that only waits an opportunity, to exhibit all its ancient bitterness?

And then again we are told that "some of the people would not send their children to schools opened alike to both races." It is more than likely there are just such people; and it is for their benefit, and for the sake of lessening their numbers, that we should recommend the measure. We have fools in all ages of the world, and are likely still to have for ages yet to come; but this is no good reason why we should legislate to perpetuate folly, and thus to multiply this race indefinitely. Suppose these schools do not send their children to such schools, what then? Whose fault is it? Who are the sufferers, to be sure? Who but those who perpetuate the folly? But would not a due amount of letting alone be a benefit to such people? For whose benefit were, and are, these common schools established? Manifestly for all who will avail themselves of their advantages. If, for all, then all should have a voice in their management; and no distinction can be made, without doing violence to a Republican form of

government. But if for a class, then which class? To which does the State owe the greater obligation, to the rich rebel or to the poor slave? To those who fought against our country and government, or those who fought for them? To those who spurn the advantages thus held out to them, or those who with hungry longing, are reaching out their hands for them? Whose interest must the laws consult, if one more than the other, or one and not the other?

But we do not propose to draw distinctions. We only ask for justice and impartial representation before the law. The law should make no distinction. It should not even allow the exercise of partiality, even though the people themselves, in their blindness, should demand it. Let common schools be peacefully provided for by the organic laws of these States, and nothing said about color or caste—no special legislation, no meddling with that which the laws cannot regulate; and let the matter be submitted to the people themselves, restrained only by our Constitution as now amended, and in less than one generation this troublesome prejudice will be dead. But legislate for it, and submit to it, and you make it respectable, and provide for its indefinite continuance.

Who would think of this state of things continuing always, or even for a century? It is only the cause of slavery. Slavery is dead, and this, too, must die some time; and the sooner our Legislatures strike the death blow, by letting it alone, the sooner it will be out of our way. The voice of the people to-day, if unfettered by party rule, would smite it down. Reason, common sense, and a sense of justice, demand that our people rise up out of these muddy ruts into which centuries of wrong and oppression have thrown them.

We propose in our next to show the ill economy of supporting two schools in one district, where one would answer all the purposes.

A Trip to Cuba.

BY JOHN A. FRITH.

"I would not give a smack for the man who, having visited foreign countries, cannot tell a word about it."

Twelve days might be considered a very pleasant run from New York to St. Jago de Cuba; and even supposing the voyage had been boisterous, the sailing up the bay of Santiago alone would fully repay the tourist, the water so placid—the scenery so beautiful—the fishermen's cottages so primitive—the hills of El Corvo on the left so tall and majestic—and the city just peeping out "ahead" presents a *coup d'oeil* really grand and tropical. And if anything is wanting to complete the panorama, it is filled up by the coasters, merchants, and neat Spanish gumbos, such as the "Yal-ras" or "Guadalupe." The old-fashioned Moro at the entrance must be mentioned, without which a Spanish port would be insignificant.

After the formality of presenting passport is over, permission to land is generally given by the harbor-master, and the stranger is soon ashore and pleased with the various scenes which each corner displays to the discerning eye. He finds the inhabitants hospitable, the restaurants inviting and cheap, notwithstanding he has always heard to the contrary. Some articles are very highly marked, I admit; for instance, if one wishes to treat himself to a dashing "Panama," he must go to Calle de St. Tomas, look up a hat establishment and be accommodated to any color, shape, or price. Select a good "Panama" for six ounces, or \$100, "dub" it on without ribbon, and you will feel as though your head was worth something, and that you could do something desperate. So you enter "La Longa," and stand drinks for the crowd, say ten all round. You expect to pay handsomely for the honor, because you fancy you are in a dear country; but the "dependente" only charges you \$1 for the round, and will perhaps offer you a cigar, as a dozen other people will do during the day, by way of compliment.

It is very noticeable by strangers with what etiquette a Cuban handles a cigar. To give the mouth or wet end of a cigar to a person soliciting fire, might be interpreted, "I would as soon throw it in your face as not." To take fire of a gentleman's cigar, throw away the "but" and give a cigar in return, would make you in his estimation anything but a gentleman. You are expected to return the "but," however small it may be, and let the owner throw it away himself; it being considered polite, when a gentleman gives a cigar, for the recipient to take fire from him also.

Such a formula of cigar etiquette might be considered by strangers very awkward and tedious; but in practice, it is very easy and elegant. To see foreigners having to use both hands to return your cheroot, (of which, by the way, he has lit the small instead of the larger end,) with the fire end presented to you, has a very awkward appearance. The good Spanish rule is, never turn a cigar in its transit, nor in receiving the cigar afterwards. I mean, always give the fire end to the person soliciting fire, and he will, or should, return it mouth end to you again. Our "thanks" is also dispensed with by a notion of the hand, up and down, perpendicularly—which must be seen in practice to be appreciated. In Cuba, you can request light of cigar from any person, without respect of class, color, or creed. Custom establishes a "do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you," in smoking.

Having lighted my cigar, I crossed over to the opposite shore, in a small steamer, for the purpose of visiting the copper mines. The train was about starting from near the pier, and I must confess to some little amazement at a road on an angle something more than 30°; but the peculiarities of this road are not so startling as the first mile of the commencement of the road in the valley of Trinidad de Cuba, which is not only very angular, but very inclined, and built on trestles or piles some twenty feet above the marsh.

El Corvo (or copper-town) takes its name from the metal found in its vicinity. The mines are worked by an English company; the laborers are Welshmen, and the ore is transported by railway to the company's wharf, and shipped to England.

Occasionally on the Sabbath this raw material of Welshmen amuse themselves by rough "set to" in the Plaza. Neither the inhabitants nor police interfere, although they fight without license from the magistrate. Non-interference is traced to the fact that the Spaniards are fond of (John) Bull fighting, and supposing they were not, neither Spanish nor English is understood by their Celtic-ships any more than the Biscayan dialect is by the Castilians. The company's agents alone have or can exercise power over them.

Speaking of the difficulty in understanding Celtic, reminds me of a story told in Cuba, why all Biscayans go to heaven. In ancient

times, it is said, His Satanic Majesty took up his residence in that iron province in the north of Spain. After a residence of seven years, he only succeeded in acquiring two words—Lord and water. Now, requiring his majesty, this is lost time here; the dialect of this people is insurmountable; I shall never be able to tempt them, because I cannot talk *lingua*, and they do not understand mine; besides, the few words I do know are very much against me. "Water" would squat out the fire in my engine-room, and "Lord" is the very word and person I wish them to forget. So the Devil left in disgust, and went (I presume) to Fifth street (south) Philadelphia, where I noticed he has many disciples, or perhaps to Utah, said to be the capital of his kingdom. Thus, you will observe why all Biscayans go to heaven.

Many years ago, when the mines were first opened, a Virgin called *La Virgen del Corvo* was found to dwell therein, and is known to the Catholic world by the many cures she has effected when appealed to by people suffering from disease, or other afflictions. A rude sort of church was built for her, and there she has remained, notwithstanding that gorgeous processions, both church and military, have endeavored to conduct her to the elegant Cathedral of St. Jago. About the month of June, hundreds of penitents from different parts of Cuba, and even from Europe, congregate around this church, waiting in turn to give thanks for deliverances from troubles which the Virgin has effected, and also to contribute their one, or may be, sixty doubloons to her treasury. I noticed one gentleman from Havana who promised when on a sick bed, that if he recovered he would walk to her from Havana, a distance of five hundred miles, carry a burden of fourteen pounds, and beg his bread on the road, in order to show his gratitude for her services conferred. Such is the life about El Corvo. Some come by steam, some on foot, and some on foot, while many fall by the way-side exhausted, and perish for want of shelter on long journeys, and some come regularly every year.

I am told, the Virgin never condescends to speak to any person, except to the officiating Priest, but merely moves her eyes to the penitents. Thousands of copper crosses are made annually from the copper of these mines, blessed by the Priest, and sold to her disciples. It requires a strong (I) mind to believe that the movement of the eyes goes to say so much even in these days of electricity. An operator at St. Jago, by the movement of his fingers on his telegraphic apparatus in a peculiar way, conveys certain signs to the operator in Havana, which goes to say something; so does the Virgin by the movement of her eyes speak words of encouragement and consolation to her believers. I say *audi alteram partem*, or to give a free translation, "a snake in the grass."

One great eye-sore to the intelligent Cubans is that "Domestic Institution." It prevents the poor whites from making themselves honorable and industrious citizens, and members of good society. It prevents them from being elevated to the position of their better educated countrymen; in a word, making them inferior to the slaves; no one cares about them, because one is not directly benefited by them.

It is now several years since a company was formed for the purpose of employing free labor instead of slave labor. Several estates in the jurisdiction of Havana have, for some years, employed free labor with apparent success; but this kind of labor does not meet with universal approbation, being an infringement on the "institution."

Grant's arm was strong enough to crush out slavery in the Southern States, and strong enough to do the same thing in Cuba; but from the fish (ey) peculiarities of the case, I fear Grant's arm is not long enough to reach Cuba. However, the day will come, must come, even when Cuba will boast of her liberal institutions; glorious liberty to the suffering slaves. The insurgent general of Cuba has made the opening. God and right, I trust, will raise up a "Lincoln" in Cuba to complete the work, a Grant to strike the blow, and make the "ever faithful Island" the "Gem of the Antilles."

It is apparent to every stranger, however temperate or unexpanded his ideas, that Cubans look forward to a better state of country than at present enjoyed under the Spanish yoke. The introduction of Africans as slaves is strictly prohibited by law; yet it does not require much tact to find in the Eastern department (1866) that depot for the landing and receiving fresh cargoes, in the Southern part of Guantamo, in the interest of a very wealthy French house, and under the supervision of a son of the Emerald Isle.

It would be impossible to employ these newly arrived slaves on estates in face of the Government visitors, were they not blinded by gold. Spanish gold makes a great difference with officials in Cuba, in the performance of their duty. Every slave must have his title deed from Government, and be baptized by the priest, otherwise he is liable to confiscation, and is afterward known as an *encomendado*.

This emancipated article, or government slave, has a curious history. He is indentured by government to an estate for seven years to pay expenses, and at the end of that time is entitled to freedom, but strange to say, seven years in Cuba is a lifetime; consequently the *encomendado* finds himself in the field with slaves, fares and is treated as such in every particular. Now suppose an estate slave dies; notice is given to government that one of the indentured *encomendados* is dead; the proprietor therefore, instead of losing a slave by death, makes the *encomendado* assume the dead slave's name immediately—papers corresponding are already in hand, and this transmuted thing is snuck smoothly a slave for the eyes of the inspector, religiously instructed to "obey your master" until the grand geometrical of the Universe shall see fit to remove him to the regions where the "weary are at rest."

On the whole, the slaves of Cuba are well treated and cared for, particularly domestic servants. Exceptions of course are found to the rule. Foreigners who go to Cuba make the greatest amount of money in the shortest time, generally employ foreign overseers, with a like object in view. Mr. John Chinaman or Mr. Darkey, in such hands, have their existence laid out for seven years' work, and at the expiration of that period are expected to lie down and die, because there is no more work in them.

The introduction of Chinese in Cuba is a failure. They often murder entire families; suicides are frequent, believing thereby they free themselves from their Pharaohs, and that their spirits return to celestial China.

Cuban slave laws are very stringent on the Master, and fair for the slave. A Spaniard of Trinidad de Cuba was recently sentenced to seven years' hard labor in the chain gang at Ceuta, for maltreatment of a slave girl. The Governor of Colon (a Colonel in the Spanish

army, like Priest, and some other officials were used and transported to the same fortress for convicting at the introduction of slaves: The Colonel at first effected an escape to the United States, seated himself in the Editorial chair of "El Cronista" in New York, the Spanish Ambassador at Washington influenced Mr. Seward to deliver him to Spanish authority, and he was taken to Cuba, tried and convicted, as I have stated. The priest was punished for signing false baptismal papers making newly arrived Africans,—"Crales"—a shock to infallibility.

Each jurisdiction has a sort of guardian council. A slave wishing to purchase his liberty, but not able to obtain his masters consent, has only to appear before the council (if he can) have a value fixed on himself lodge the amount and obtain his freedom lawfully. To deposit half of his valuation, protects the slave from being sold without his consent, or out of the jurisdiction of his present abode.

There are also instances of slaves being well educated; they collect rents, look after property, make the deposits at the Bank, and remittances to their masters in Europe. Some slaves are so contented with the protection they enjoy as such, that they will neither buy nor accept freedom. In a few instances, they are wealthy and, like all Creoles, have that pathetic love of country so much at soul that they could not be happy in any other place. A case resembling this description came under my very notice at Cardenas—whilst on the other hand, money subscribed, the supplications of the Havana press, and the sympathy of many liberal hearts, failed to liberate the Phoenix of Aesop in the form of ye slave of Trinidad de Cuba.

It is a world-known fact, that the ladies of Cuba (like the ladies of Washington) deport themselves in the street with a majestic air peculiar to themselves. They wear no covering for the head, the rattling of their fans and sweeping of the sidewalks with their long trailing dresses (1866) together with their polite "a dios caballeros" can only be compared to the inestimable and courteous dispositions of the talented Philadelphia ladies.

The Cubans are intelligent, active in business, extraordinarily friendly, and make their mark in various parts of the world, as they would do in their own country, if they enjoyed liberty of the press, liberty to think, held some trust under their government, or could have a voice in home politics. This "keep your mouth shut" government tends not only to enlargeth the illiterate, but also to make the intelligent portion of the community adopt an ignorance of things and country not characteristic of them. A fear of saying something wrong makes the Cubans speak well of everything done by government, when he often knows the contrary would be the right sort of thing. If he is an editor, and produces an article on the wrong of things, persons, places, laws, or powers that be, the censor of the press, who reads and approves the paper before publication, immediately cuts it out, and Mr. Editor and Printer, from want of time and "copy," sends out his paper to the world with the blank of the space of said article; or, if time admits, he fills the vacuum with an article in large type, praising the efficacy of Bristol's Sarsaparilla.

A better system of education is being extended than heretofore. There are colleges at Havana, where the sons of the "ever-faithful Isle" can graduate and take professions in law, medicine, the church, dentistry, engineering, or in any other branch of education.

The employment of American engineers on estates is fast being supplanted by Cuban youths—not so much for the efficiency of the latter, as the temperate habits and extravagant demands of the former. This class of artisans readily receive \$100 per month for their valuable services, and in case of a scarcity of engineers in the middle of a crop, often demand extraordinary prices for their indispensable services. Oftentimes they are right in their demands, but, as I said before, the want of strict attention is fast driving them out of the country.

Between April and October, Cuba is not the right kind of place for foreigners of European birth: yellow fever takes particular charge, sometimes without respect to class, country, color, or creed. The Spanish yoke of despotic rule still prevails. Cuba's sons could be more united. One will boast of being a Creole, but will emphatically impress on your attention the fact of his father being a Spaniard, and accepts the situation of affairs in the premises. Another will tell you that he is a Creole by father and mother; looks on himself as a native of the soil; wishes for annexation with the United States, liberty, free press, religious toleration, (*libertad de los cultos*), and every other thing in conformity to the boasted nineteenth century. To conclude, making allowance for peculiarities of religion and education, there are no warmer-hearted and hospitable people on the face of this earth, that I have seen, who are more deserving to be dealt by Cuba as they wish to do unto others, than the Cubans. That they may gain their independence at a very early day is my fervent prayer. *Viva la República de Cuba! Viva!*

BERMUDA, April 1, 1870.
Africa as a Field for Missions.
BY GEORGE R. VASHON.

The grand division of Africa, interesting to the colored race in this Western world as its descendants, is, under a religious point of view, peculiarly interesting to all persons, by reason of the intimate connection existing between its history and that of the sacred record. In that record, frequent mention is made of it, from the days when Abraham was a sojourner in the land of Egypt, until that time when the parents of the infant Jesus found there a refuge for him from the cruelty of Herod. To the children of Israel, the chosen people of Jehovah, that land was an object of continued remembrance; for the celebration of the Passover recalled to their minds yearly, the days of their cruel bondage there, and their God-wrought deliverance therefrom. It is not, therefore, a matter of wonder, that the Royal Psalmist, influenced by these memories, and divinely inspired to foresee the manifestation of the Omnipotent Glory toward all nations, should exultingly chant the lyric strain—"Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." This prediction, like others in Holy Writ, found an anti-typical fulfillment in the coming of Sheba's queen to Jerusalem in order to satisfy herself of King Solomon's magnificence and wisdom; and like others, awaits, doubtless, its plenary fulfillment in the evangelization of those now benighted lands.

Such is the connection of Africa with the Old Testament record; and equally interesting is its connection with that of the New. From its shores came Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross in the manner in which Saint Mark speaks of him, and, as in all probability, a follower of our Savior, and who, having been recognized as such by the infuriated mob on the way to the crucifixion, was compelled to bear the cross of his fainting Lord up the steep of Calvary. And from within its confines, too, came the first convert of whom special mention is made, after the pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit,—the minister held in authority under Candace, queen of Ethiopia. The traditions of the Church, also inform us, that the Apostle Matthew bore to the country just mentioned, the glad tidings of a world redeemed, and perished there as a martyr to the faith. And, if we are to give credence to the Swedenborg, his sowing of the Word by the Apostle bore its perfect fruit; for that modern seer declares, that he saw, in apocalyptic vision, a pure Church still existing far in the recesses of Africa,—so pure, indeed, as to merit and enjoy constant communication with the celestial world through angels ascending and descending continually,—and guarded from outward contamination by a cordon of deserts fortified by marian atmospheres, by troops of ravenous beasts and by tribes of men equally ferocious.

But, who, by searching, can find out His counsel, and declare why, in His providence, a portion of the Earth, known and settled immediately after the dispersion from Babel, was permitted to continue enveloped in obscurity through four centuries,—its history unknown,—its geography almost a mere conjecture,—itself, an enigma as hard to solve as that of its symbolic Sphinx? Whatever reply may be made to these inquiries, this is certain,—that it was reserved for Park and Bruce, for the brothers Lander, and other travelers of our own age to pierce the mystery in which Africa was enshrouded. Not a decade of years has yet elapsed since Captains Speke and Grant, of Her Britannic Majesty's East India Service, electrified the world by discovering the sources of the Nile,—an achievement which, according to old Latin adage, was the synonym of any enterprise hopeless in undertaking and impossible of accomplishment. Nor have the missionaries of the Cross been idle. Many of them, among whom Moffat and Bartle, and especially Livingston, may be cited, in obedience to the divine injunction, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," have visited that quarter of the globe; and, as the result of their researches, have added much to our knowledge in reference to it and its people.

But, for this addition, we are not indebted only to scientific and missionary enterprises. Just two years ago, war, that terrible lightning-flash which serves, at times, to disperse the clouds of ignorance and error, has lent its aid in adding to that knowledge. An unwanted spectacle has challenged the gaze of the nations, upon the plateau of Abyssinia,—Europe and Africa in conflict—an army under the banner of Saint George arrayed against that of a monarch who claimed descent from the Israelitish Solomon, and the Shaban Baki, Protestantism in battle with a Christianity engrained by the Greek Church upon a Judaism dating back to the period of the first Temple,—in fine, the last and crowning world civilization, whose watchword and onward-cry is the name of Jesus, in duel with one of the effete yet lingering civilizations of a far-off past.

Such were the forces brought face to face on the 10th day of April, 1868,—a day marked as Good Friday in our calendar, and commemorative of the crucifixion of our Lord. Let us trust, that, in this contest, all that was vile and earthly in the African genius and mode of thought received its death-blow, and that a glorious future will prove the following Easter Monday to have been marked by a greater event than the destruction of the city of Magdala, or the fall of the Abyssinian King Theodore,—that it may have been marked, in fact, by the resurrection of all that was grand and spiritual in the pristine glory of Africa.

Let us assume that, through the various agencies referred to, the African field of missions is ready for the laborer. It is a field rich in its promise of saving souls; for it covers an area of nearly 11,000,000 square miles, and gives sustenance to a population of 100,000,000. It is a field, also, inviting to the courageous soldier of the Cross, by reason of the very obstacles which he will have to encounter. He will be called upon to do battle with almost every form of religious error,—with fetishism, reveling in devil-worship,—with Mahometanism, defiant and aggressive,—with a corrupt Christianity, bigoted by the superstitions and trivial controversies of more than fourteen centuries.

In this field, who shall be the laborers? During the past few years protestant France and Germany, Great Britain and the United States, have made answer to this inquiry by sending thither numbers of their devoted sons. But a malignant climate is continually decimating those numbers, and rendering those doomed missionary stations, in very deed, the forlorn hope of the invading armies of Christendom. Still, the processes by which Africa has been opened up for missionary effort, seem to indicate such as speak the English tongue as special laborers therein. But its climate, baleful with fevers before which the Caucasian race succumbs, sternly insists that those laborers shall be homogeneous with the aborigines of that land. Where shall a class of laborers, possessed of those two distinct requirements, be found? Where, save among those descendants of Africa, who have been taught the blessings of civilization and Christianity in the United States of America? And, if they prove to be, in fact, the fore-ordained ministers in this great work, then are the purposes of God's providence in the fathers' enslavement made apparent,—then is the Divine agency in their oppression during more than two hundred years, amply and satisfactorily vindicated.

Short sighted mortals could see in this enslavement nothing except its iniquity; or, at best, could only discern an incidental good in this particular,—that, by the enforced migration of a people, God intended to make manifest, that He had "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." They could not see, that this migration, in its reluctant tide, would wash back upon the despoiled shore of Africa, in the form of Christian civilization, a pearl "richer than all its treasures."

Surely, in view of all the facts connected with this matter, the Divine purpose seems to be, the evangelization of Africa through the agency of Africa-Americans. At the very period of time when that continent is opened up by missionary effort, the slave power in America rushes suicidally into rebellion; and its aforetime victims, freed from their shackles, prove, by their undaunted courage as soldiers, by their unflinching devotion as patriots, that they are worthy of all the franchises that a grateful

country can bestow upon them. Meanwhile, other instrumentalities, all conducing to one end and the same great end, have been at work. The little band of Africa-American Christians, who, in the first quarter of this century had been constrained, through self-interest, to form themselves into separate ecclesiastical organizations, had, by the blessing of God, triumphed over all opposition, had enlarged its borders, and thus stood ready, at the moment of their brethren's disenfranchisement, to form within their pale. And now, after fifty-two years of existence, they stand before the world powerful religious denominations. Without overlooking others of these, there is the African Methodist Episcopal Church, strong in more than twenty conferences, presided over by seven bishops and comprising nearly one thousand churches, wherein an adequate supply of ministers, pure in their Christian life and, (to say the least,) respectable in their theological attainments, officiate for congregations numbering in the aggregate more than a million of their race.

With all this power at command, and with the missionary machinery already organized, what is to hinder the A. M. E. Church and kindred denominations that have so often worsted the devil in this country, from "carrying the war into Africa"? Is it that they lack a base of operations in that quarter? Even in this particular, the Slave Power, in its blind hatred of the free negro, has unwittingly provided one. The Liberia colony, devised in 1817, as a safety-valve to insure the perpetual security of slavery, exists now, in 1870, upon the Western Shore of Africa. But it exists, transformed into an independent republic, growing daily into greater and greater consideration among the nations of the earth, and offering itself as the needed base, whence an army of Africa-American missionaries can move on northward, eastward and southward, to the conquest, in the name of Immanuel, of the entire continent of Africa.

The Big Claim.

BY GUL. JACOBUS.

Claims as extensive and various as there are circumstances to create them, are pressed with the strongest pleas against injustice and for justice, and for citizens rights, by all the dwellers within our countless domain for some supposed or real infringement upon their several privileges, properties, and possessions, on which the grand army of progress have been suspected, or really have made some invasion. Poes to the commonwealth come up to the legal seat boldly, and plead a constitution that cannot be violated, either by executive or judicial authority—per force to the great heart of the nation, against infringement on their absolute safeguard, the great written charter of the people's rights. This great charter (as it is the voice of the people) is heaven's law—(*Vox populi vox Dei*)—we uphold inalienable as the "law of laws," and upon this foundation we plead our big claim.

There is scarcely a clod of earth sprung in these States (known as the slave States), that have not been wetted with sweat, or blood, or tears of the involuntary "toilers" of the soil! That soil was rendered prolific of wealth to the whole of the United States, and was the grand source of finance to the Government in meeting its exchanges abroad with foreign nations. The banking country of our sterling was the cotton bale, and which amply represented our gold capital in Europe. Disastrous as was that labor, and characterized, to say the least, by an apprenticeship system, that is green, unskilled, and merely bound to be disciplined by the lash, fettered by a chain, and unwilling because unpaid, unintellectual because but mere mechanical brute force, and a tyrant its intelligence!

Disadvantages wagged war with every foot of Southern progress, and circumvented to a great extent the development of the resources of that prolific clime. But with all, with manacles upon free action, concerted co-operation retarded, yet this ponderous labor arrested the attention of the world by its intrinsic and immense productions. It moved elements that clothed billions of earth's sons, and opened avenues for the gold of nations to be poured into the coffers of the owners of these sons of toil. England grasped at a large portion of those growing advantages—was so tenacious of their value that she drew around her interest a protection by prohibiting the exportation from her dominions of any weaving and spinning machinery, even confiscating the vessels found to contain them. And what was the motive for this? That the elements which those "toilers" of the South produced was of that value to their national wealth and their permanent prosperity. American, British, French, German, &c., shipping were enlarged, and specifically enlarged in the trade of the South, and were commonly distinguished by the appellation of cotton boxes. These were filled with the productions of these degraded "toilers" of the soil, which gave wealth to these nations and employment to millions of their subjects. At this question arises: Where can a country be found possessing more abundant and substantial elements of trade and wealth, in the soil, climate, rivers, seaboard, and water power, minerals, agricultural produce, and ready labor, now waiting for the nation's enterprise to add an incalculable amount of wealth to its treasury?

In 1859 and '60 the cotton crop aggregated some five millions (5,000,000) of bales, averaging four hundred pounds each, (400 lbs.), which, at ten cents (10 cts.) per pound, amounts to two hundred million of dollars (\$200,000,000) in gold. This is the estimated value of one item raked from this stifled labor. In addition to this, these "toilers" of the soil produced all they needed for their provisions, both animal and vegetable; and there was no drawback in this part of the business. Besides, they produced some one hundred millions of dollars in tobacco, grain, iron, coal, timber, and stone. They gave you fish and fruit, landings for your ships and highways for your travel. They rescued millions of the broad acres from the savage man and obnoxious wild beasts, and made the "wilderness blossom as the rose;" and were but only fed as a beast of burden for their remuneration; and his last legacy for his life of toil was a requested grave, "and not a stone told where he lie."

Nearly one century's records are filed in the courts of justice abroad, teeming with acts of coercion, cruel castigation and deprivation! Standing in juxtaposition with this "higher law"—"thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—this "royal law" and remember that—these sufferers are immortal (witnesses)—nations are not so—and cannot be called to a future account; but nations and societies must receive their share in the distribution of rewards and punishments in this life. Individuals may be called to answer for their unatoned and responsible actions in a future state, but

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Transient Advertising Rates.
One insertion, per square, 50 cents.
Subsequent insertions, 25 cents.

Rates for Yearly Advertisements.
One year, \$10.00.
Two years, \$18.00.
Three years, \$25.00.

The above rates are for the first year, and for the second year, the rate is charged the rate of a full year. All advertisements containing less than a quarter of a column are charged by the square. Advertisements inserted for a less time than three months are charged transient rates.

restitution, wherever it can be done, is inflexibly demanded as expiatory of the wrongs committed by mankind to each other, whether individuals, societies, or nations. Then, we call up the proposition, Does the nation possess ample means for restitution? The question is clear on the homestead law. To the new emigrant, who never conserved one dollar to the common wealth, there is given to each one hundred and sixty acres, value (at upshot price) some two hundred and forty dollars, which it would realize if sold. Therefore, the strange emigrant is paid for coming into the country to break up the resources of the soil—well approved and worthy to be done—and is a star of never-fading light in our national Sars. But be "just before generous." Justice demands a compensation for labor done to those whom you forced to toil, to those who have enlarged the theatre of the nation's popular greatness. There is not much difference in the fact of not receiving or remitting the price of two hundred and forty dollars' worth of land, and of purchasing two hundred and forty dollars' worth of land to give, while the benefit arising from each mode is equal in its results. Here is proof positive we have gained five hundred (and over) dollars gold per acre from millions of square acres, and amassed in gold enough to meet our promises to pay, when we possessed comparatively no national sterling; kept exchange at par, (and sometimes in favor.) Then, what is calculated to result from a supineness or negligence of a people's claim, that labored involuntarily under the legal chain and lash, and who enriched so many sovereign States, and built up the Government in credit abroad, which had no gold at home?

These men's labors with sable skins which preachers, and professors have made a crime punishable by law; virtually endorsed your comparatively useless paper with their labor; and made it part with gold. You may draw them to the West by homestead privileges—or transport them ignominiously to Liberia, to rid us of a spectacle, so grim and horribly repugnant—as justice holds the Lamp, and exhibit to our consciences the retrospect of facts—peering in our sordid hearts its unrelaxing demand!—and thundering in the archives of our reason "Evil for evil," "measure for measure." Thy brother blood cried unto me from the ground! "Ye shall love the stranger, for ye were strangers," in the land of the British King!—and the great manifestations of mercy to you, was your restoration to freedom when you were detained by a tyrannical government—"for ye know the heart of the stranger"—remember I have taught thee the value of popular freedom! for is there a crime more great, than that of detaining men in involuntary servitude, and retaining their wages, in a miserable bondage?

Leaving all other considerations aside, you shall have gold for your wastes, in the swell of the great National products! have contemplated that the white men, who are now the owners of those lands, cannot cultivate them? and when the black man is gone, then the bittern will boom! and the wild beast again roar—where the snow white fields of the *Gossypium* gave life, and civilization to the Southern expanse of our domain?

Are there no lands in the South in the "possession of the United States Government?" then sell a portion of the West, and invest in the South—and distribute those rich lands now bound up in cane-brakes, and swamp—under the Homestead Law, to white and black, who will comply thereto. Give the colored settler one hundred acres, and the balance in means to begin his farm, viz: a house, an axe, a m